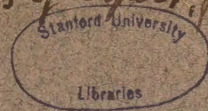


Professor George Heugle with
marks of respect from author



Prefixal S in Germanic

TOGETHER WITH

THE ETYMOLOGIES OF *FRATZE*, *SCHRAUBE*,
GUTER DINGE

BY

LEE MILTON HOLLANDER

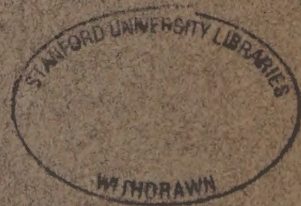
A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS
UNIVERSITY IN CONFORMITY WITH THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

1905

J. M. Furst Company

BALTIMORE



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TO MY MOTHER

PREFIXAL S IN GERMANIC.

It is an accepted fact that many Ide. words whose kinship is evident by form and meaning show doublets, appearing now with, now without, initial *s*. Step by step it has been shown that these parallel forms, with and without initial *s*, co-existed in the original language, that the law of sandhi does not suffice to explain either the presence, or the absence, of *s*¹; but that this *s* has, rather, prefixal function, and is, possibly, of intensive value.² Important contributions were also made by JOHANSSON,³ who proved that "*s* + guttural + *l, m, n* have been simplified to *s* + *l, m, n*, both in Ide., and in the separate languages," and recently by SIEBS,⁴ who formulates the law: "If the root begins with Ide. media, the parallel *s*-form begins with Ide. *s* + corresponding tenuis; if the root begins with Ide. media aspirata, the parallel *s*-form begins with Ide. *s* + tenuis or tenuis aspirata." This definitive formulation, of probably the most far-reaching principle, in point of extensive results in etymology, has been generally accepted, as far as we can see.

Independently, SCHROEDER⁵ arrived at similar conclusions. Though anticipated in its main results, his article is of value because of the additional proof offered by dialectical material, unfortunately rather unsifted, that Germanic, at every period, independently added or dropped the movable *s*; furthermore, because of the juxtaposition of parallel forms with initial *w*, challenging thus the explanation of this phenomenon.

NOTE.—Bibliography given by SIEBS, *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, xxxvii, p. 277; supplemented by SCHROEDER, *Paul und Braune Beitr.*, xxix, p. 479, p. 484.

¹ Cf. especially SCHRIJNEN, *Étude sur le phénomène de l's mobile*, p. 16 f. SIEBS, *l. c.*, p. 288 f.

² SCHRIJNEN, *l. c.*, p. 23 f.

³ *Paul und Braune Beitr.*, xiv, p. 289 f.

⁴ *L. c.*

⁵ *L. c.*, p. 489.

SIEBS illustrates the scope of the above law by the following group of words.¹

1) Ide. **ghel*, **ghol*, Germ. *gël*, *gal*, OHG. *gëllan* 'to yell, sound loudly', Ags. *gillan*, cf. OHG. *galan* 'to sing', cf. also *nachtigal*. . . .

2) Ide. **sk(h)el*, Germ. *skël*, OHG. *skëllan*, MHG. *schëllen*, ON. *skjalla* 'to rattle', OHG. *scella* 'bell', Mod. Germ. *verschollen* 'verklungen', *schallen*, etc. . . .

3) [Ide. **gel*] 'to speak', OHG. *kallôn*, ON. *kalla* 'to call' . . .

4) Ide. **kel*, Gr. *κέλαδος* 'shouting, noise', *καλέω* 'to call', Lat. *caläre*, OHG. *hellan* 'to resound', MHG. *hel* 'loud, sounding', Lett. *kalût* 'to babble', etc.

These four rootforms can be explained only thus that, in Indo-European times, already, a new *s*-less form of **sk(h)el* had arisen, besides **ghel*, namely *k(h)el*, and that this same process was repeated after the Germanic Mutation.

Ide.	<i>ghel</i>	<i>sk(h)el</i>		
Pre-Germ.	<i>ghel</i>	<i>skel</i>	<i>kel</i>	
Germ.	<i>gel</i>	<i>skel</i>	<i>hel</i>	
Later.	<i>gel</i>	<i>skel</i>	<i>kel</i>	<i>hel</i>

The possibility of independent Germanic doublets with and without prefixal *s* affords also an explanation of a small group of words for which, as a class, no satisfactory cognates have hitherto been found, outside of Germanic. We learn that *s* is, or may be, prefixed to any root whatsoever, whether beginning with consonant or with vowel.² It behooves us, then, to inquire what changes this *s*, if so prefixed, may work on consonants following.

Our attention is arrested by the fact that, among the possible combinations of Germanic consonants with *s*, *r* is lacking. We may assume one of two things: either, *s* was not prefixed, before

¹ L. c., p. 294. The following gives the essential only.

² SIEBS, l. c., p. 293 f.

r—for which no satisfactory reason can be assigned¹—or, *sr*- was changed to something different; and if so, the change most likely to occur would be one to *sl*-.

Phonetically, this change is unobjectionable, although not yet observed. Sanskrit freely interchanges *r* and *l*, with a preponderance toward the latter.² For the Germanic such an interchange has hitherto not been recognized.³ An exact phonetical representation of the change from *sr*- to *sl*- is out of the question, since the quality of the *r* involved is unknown. Supposing it, however, to have been the most common consonantal *r*-sound, alveolar *r* (trilled or untrilled),⁴ the effect of preceding *s* would be to retain the tip of the tongue momentarily near the teeth, so that the continued air-current finds vent laterally,⁵ producing an *l*-sound; instead of an alveolar *r*-sound which requires, normally, a rather strong curvature backward of the tip of the tongue.⁶

The scope of this change is enlarged by the disappearance of the guttural spirant *h* between initial *s*, and *r*. As regards *skr*-, JOHANSSON is undoubtedly correct in stating: "Dagegen scheinen die verbindungen *s* + gutt. + *r* den guttural nicht eingebüsst zu haben, wie man sich durch den flüchtigsten blick in die wörterbücher überzeugen kann"⁷. However, even the dropping of the guttural explosive *k* between *s* and *l* is not conceivable except by the supposition of previous change of *k* to a semi-explosive, semi-continuous affricative, produced by the articulation of *l* (darkened by guttural influence) after *s*; and later complete spirantization, resulting in final disappearance of the guttural element (*skl* > *skʰl* > *sʰl* > *shl* > *sl*).

The effort, graphically to reproduce the semi-explosive intermediate sound, occurring between *s* and voiceless *l*, is also the

¹ It will be noted that most of the words offered below, as examples, are found at one time or another, to have prefixal *s*; so that a recurrence of *s*-forms is not unlikely.

² WHITNEY, *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 53 b.

³ KLUGE, *Vorgeschichte der altgermanischen Dialekte* (*Grundriss*²), p. 377: "Wechselbeziehungen zwischen *r* und *l* sind für die urgermanische Zeit nicht nachweisbar." For sporadic change of *r* to *l*, due to dissimilation, see BRAUNE, *Ahd. Gram.*², § 120 A¹.

⁴ Cf. SIEVERS, *Grundzüge der Phonetik*,⁵ § 299 f.

⁵ *Id.*, l. c., § 312.

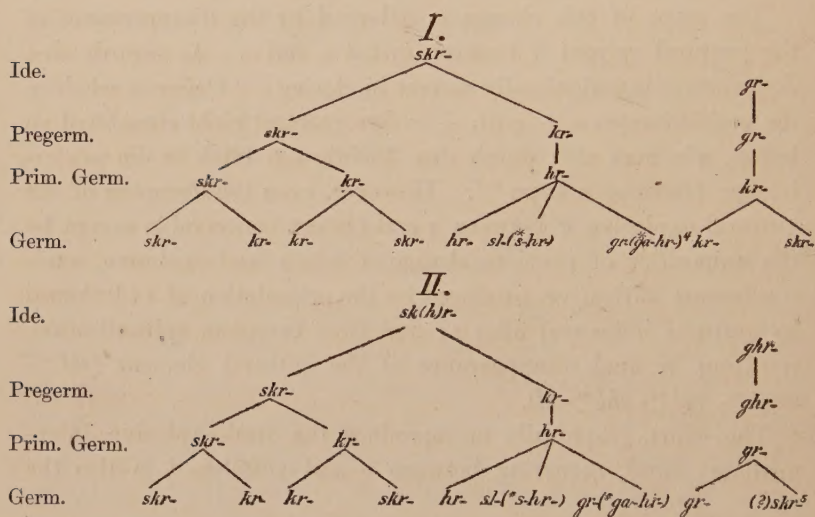
⁶ *Id.*, l. c., § 299.

⁷ *L. c.*, p. 292, note².

explanation for the spurious *k* element cropping up in various Germanic dialects in original *sl-* combinations.¹

A combination *s* + *hr-* (from pre-Germanic *kr-*) would speedily undergo a change similar to that of *sr-*, after the dropping of the guttural spirant *h*: *shr-* > *sr-* > *sl-*. A hardening of the guttural spirant to *k*, after *s*, as queried by SCHROEDER² seems altogether unlikely, because of the character of Germanic *h*—which had, already in primitive Germanic times, become the spiritus asper, initially; and in all dialects shows unmistakable signs of weakening,³ practically disappearing initially except in Gothic, and the Saxon dialects.—As in the case of *sr-*, therefore, we are placed in the alternative: either *s* was not prefixed to *hr-*, or, if prefixed, it produced the change to *sl-*.

Subjoined scheme will illustrate the various changes :



¹ SCHERER, *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*,² p. 127.

² *L. c.*, p. 487.

³ KLUGE, *l. c.*, § 48; BRAUNE, *Gotische Grammatik*⁵, § 61; BRAUNE, *Althochdeutsche Grammatik*², § 150-153; NOREEN, *Altisländische Grammatik*³, § 216 1); SIEVERS, *Angelsächsische Grammatik*⁴, § 217.

⁴ Cf. WADSTEIN, *Idg. Forsch.* v, p. 1 f.

⁵ Cf. SCHROEDER, *l. c.*, p. 482, note 2.

The date of the change *sr-* > *sl-*, *shr-* > *sl-* is fixed by the First Mutation of Consonants, on the one hand; by the development of pre-Germ. *sr-* to *str-*¹, on the other.

Confirmation of the above hypothesis is to be sought solely by producing sufficient evidence of the co-existence of *sl-*, and *kr-*, *hr-* forms of the same root. This class of words being necessarily a restricted one,² it will be proof positive of our contention, if we are able to adduce some few, phonetically and semasiologically indisputable, examples of this co-existence; and, if we are, furthermore, able to show that the supposition of *s* + *hr*-stems for a few words in *sl-* satisfactorily re-unites these words with the common stock of our family of languages.

I. One of the first words with initial *sl-* which naturally suggests itself is Germ. *schlecht* (MHG. *slecht*). KLUGE rests content with the following³: "Der Ursprung des gemeingerm. Adj. (oder *to-* Particips?) **slehta-* eigtl. wohl *slihta-* ist unsicher; formell lässt es sich gut mit *schleichen* verbinden als altes Partizip, und wegen der Bedeutung vergleicht man⁴ engl. *sleek* 'glatt.'"

The facts are as follows: OHG. *slēht* 'grad, eben, schlicht, einfach, sanft, freundlich,' and, with nearly absolute identity of meaning, Goth. *slāhts*, Ags. *sliht*, ON. *slétr*, OFries. *sliuht*, Du. *slecht*. "Die hd. Bedeutungs-entwicklung geht von 'gerade, eben, einfach' aus (s. *schlicht*—*schlichten*) und hat im Nhd. zu einer eigenartigen Ausbildung in *malam partem* geführt."⁵ Similarly, Engl. *slight* 'inconsiderable, weak, contemptible,' and *to slight*.

Parallel to this word in every particular, down to the derivative OHG. *slihtan* (cf. Ags. *rihtan*), except its later pejorative development, and *s*-prefix, is Germ. *recht*. We have OHG. *rēht* 'straight, right, direct, fitting, correct, just, equitable'; Ger-

¹ KLUGE, *l. c.*, § 39 a.

² N. B.—It is not claimed that every Germ. *sl* is the result of *sr-*, or *shr-*.

³ *Etym. Wb.*,⁶ p. 341.

⁴ JOHANSSON, *PBb.*, XIV, p. 321, footnote³; FRANCK, *Anz. f. d. A.*, XXI, p. 304. See also ZUPITZA, *Bezz. Beitr.*, XXV, p. 97.

⁵ KLUGE, *ibid.*

manic *rehta-*, of the same meaning in all dialects: Goth. *raíhts*, ON. *réttr*, Ags. *riht*, OS. *reht*, OFries. *riuht*. (Ide. root **rēj-* 'to direct'). Original *to-* ptepl.

The following groups tend to illustrate the same principle.

II. Ags. *slīfan* 'to sliver, slice off,' Engl. *sliver* (sb.), is an *s*-form of

Ags. **rīfan* (ME. *riven*), Icel. *rífa* 'to tear, rive, split.' Cf. Gr. *ἐρείπειν*, *ἐρείκειν* 'to rive,' Lith. *rėkti* 'to cut.'

III. Engl. *slack* 'inactive, lazy; not rapid, slow.' (Cf. Nautic *slack water* 'time between the tides when the water runs slow, or is at rest.'). Ags. *slæc*, Icel. *slakr*, OHG. *slah*.¹

Forms without *s* are found in Lat. *rigeo* 'to congeal, become stiff,' and its allies; Ide. *s*-forms again in

Lat. *frigus*, Gr. *ψῖγος*,² N. Slov. *srěz* 'frost,' Lith. *stregti* 'to congeal.'

Low Germ. *slakke*, *slagge* 'slag, dross, Schlacke,' Ags. *slægu* fem. undoubtedly belongs to *slack*. The slags are the first to 'become slack,' to grow stiff, and congeal when the metal beneath is yet in a fluid, quick condition.³ Note the exactness of the expression 'to *slake time*': by adding water we render the 'live,' active substance chemically inactive, inert.

IV. ON. *slagna* 'to flow over, be spilt, tröpfeln,' *slag*, *slagi* 'wet, damp; water penetrating walls.' Compare with

ON. *rakr* 'damp, wet;,' *raki* 'dampness.'

The principle of change from *shr-* (< **s-lr-*) > *sl* may be illustrated by the following group of words.

V. MHG. *slimp* 'schief, schräge,' *slimbes* adv., OHG. **slimb* 'schräge' (OHG. *slimbī*, fem. abstract). From the German: M. Du. *slim* 'awry, crafty,' Engl. *slim* 'thin, incon-

¹ PEDERSEN, *Bezz. Beitr.*, XIX, p. 300 connects with Gr. *λαγρός*, *λήγω*; Lat. *languo*.

² Cf. COLLITZ, *Bezz. Beitr.* III, p. 321.—SIEBS, *l. c.*, p. 278.

³ Differently SKEAT, *Concise Etym. Dict. of the English Language*, 1901, p. 490; again different KLUGE, *l. c.*, p. 340.

siderable, bad,' Icel. *slæmr* 'vile,' Dan. Swed. *slem* 'worthless.' "Das altgerm. *slimba-* 'schräg, schief' . . . ist seiner weiteren Urgeschichte nach gänzlich dunkel."¹—"Die Bedeutung des Adj. ist erst im Nhd. moralisch gewandt wie ndl. *slim* 'schlimm' (woneben noch *slimbeen* 'schiefbeinige Person')." ²

The *sl*-forms we suppose to have arisen from *hr*-forms, such as seen below.

OHG. *hrimfan*, *rimphan* 'rümpfen, contract,' Ags. **hrimpan* (*gehrumpen* 'rugosus,' *hrympel* 'ruga') ME. *rimplen* 'to ripple, wrinkle,' M. Low Germ. *rimpen*, Dan. *rinpe* 'sow together loosely.' All from an adj. Germ. **hrimba-* 'crooked, contracted.'

The Ide. consonantism was preserved from the action of GRIMM'S Law by the protecting presence of prefixal *s*; witness instances below.

MHG. *schrumpfen* 'schrumpfen, contract,' Engl. *shrimp*, ON. *skreppa*, Swed. *skrympa*, Dan. *skrumpe*, EFries. *schrumpen*, Engl. Dial. *shrump* 'to shrink, shrug.'

Dropping of the *s* in Germanic times produced the *k*-forms seen in the following words.

OHG. *krump*, *chrumb*, Ags. *crumb*, *crump* 'bent, crooked, awry,' OHG. *krumpf*, *krampf* 'crooked,' Ags. *crompeht* 'wrinkled,' ME. *crumplen* 'to crumple, wrinkle,' ON. *kroppinn* p. p. 'shrivelled, contracted,' Dan. *krympe* 'to shrivel up.'

Compare also the following *w*-forms, clearly belonging to the same group.

MLG. *wrimpen* 'rümpfen,' Dan. *wrampet* 'crooked,' Engl. *wrinkle* 'to rumple,' etc., etc.³

VI. OS. Ags. *slitan*, OFries. *slita*, OHG. *slīzen* 'to slit, schleis-sen, tear, rend.'⁴

¹ KLUGE, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 343.

² *Ib.*, l. c.—JOHANSSON l. c., p. 303 attempts a rather forced connection with the root **skele-* 'schief,' by postulating Ide. *sk(e)l(e)i-m-bh* (with infixed nasal, and *bh* suffix) > **slimba-*.

³ For further cognates among the dialects, for this as well as other groups, consult SCHROEDER'S exhaustive collection.

⁴ For a different etymology, cf. JOHANSSON, l. c., p. 316.

Goth. *disskreitan* (*disskritnan inchoat.*¹) 'to tear,' Swiss *schrissen*, *schreissen*, Bavar. *schrützen* 'to rend, slit,' ME. *skratten* 'to scratch.'

OHG. *krizzôn*, MHG. *krützen* 'einritzen, kritzeln,' denominative from OHG. **kriz*,² to OHG. **krīzan*,³ OHG. *krazzôn* 'to scratch,' ON. *krota* 'to engrave.'

OS. Ags. *writan*, ON. *rīta*, OHG. *rīzan* 'to cut, scratch; write,' Goth. *writs* 'stroke in writing, letter.'

VII. Mod. Germ. *schlank*, MHG. *slanc* 'slender, slim; thin, lean, slight, delicate.' Found elsewhere only in Du. *slank* 'thin, afgefallen, slap.'⁴

Icel. *rakkr* 1) 'prop. straight, slender 2) metaph. upright, courageous, bold; but hardly used except in poetry.'⁵ Dan. *rank* 'slender, erect,' Du. *rank* bnw. uit mnl. *ranc* dun, tenger, onvast, zwak b. a. mnd. nnd. *rank* opgeschoten, slank, dun, mager, onvast. . . .⁶ Engl. *rank* 'coarse, exuberant in growth,' like MLG. *rank* 'opgeschoten' from the notion that things of quick growth are 'slender, langaufgeschossen.' Ags. *ranc*, however, only 'proud, brave (also of dress), valiant.' All probably from **hranka*- cf. ON. *hrökka*, Swed. *ranka* 'sway, totter' from weakness, namely (cf. OHG. *chrancholôn*). Cf. also MHG. *rân* 'slender, slim.'

OHG. *serangolôn* 'straucheln,' Swed. Dan. dial. *skringla* 'vaccillare, to totter,' M. Du. *schranckelen* 'labi, lapsare.'

OHG. **chrank* (*chrancholôn* 'to become weak, stumble'), MHG. *kranc* 'slim, slender, inconsiderable, weak,' hence 'sick,' MHG. *krenken* 'to make weak, humble,' ON. *krangr* 'weak,' Ags. *cranc* 'feeble, fragile,' MLG. *krank* 'infirm.'—"Das gemeinwestgerm. Adj. *kranka*- gehört zu angl. *cringan* eigtl. 'sich winden wie ein tödlich Verwundeter, im Kampfe fallen.'" ⁷—"Zur gleichen Wz.

¹ *Diskritnan*, MATTH. 27/51, probably by mistaking of word-joint.

² -ja stem, cf. OHG. *sliz*, Ags. *slite*: MHG. *slitzen*; OHG. **riz*, MHG. *riz*, Ags. *writ* (neuter): OHG. *rizzôn*.

³ *Kreisen*, *kreissen* 'parere' is a different word, see KLUGE, *l. c.*, p. 226.

⁴ JOHANSSON, *l. c.*, p. 304, attempts to connect directly with *hlanc* and Gr. *κολοκάνος* 'gaunt, meagre,' *κολοσόςος*, Sk. *krjá-* 'meagre.'

⁵ CLEASBY-VIGFUSSON, *Icelandic-English Dictionary*, p. 481.

⁶ FRANCK, *Ethym. Wb.*, p. 771.

⁷ KLUGE, *Ethym. Wb.*, p. 224.

kring, *krink* gehören nhd. *Kring*, engl. *crank* 'Krümmung—to crankle' sich schlängeln—*crinkle* 'Biegung.'"¹ The latter assertion is certainly false, as is evident already from the fixed and peculiar meaning of Germanic **kranka-* 'slender, weak.' More plausible, by far, is the etymology of *Kring*, etc., given below.

Ags. *hlanc* 'lank, lean, gaunt,' OHG. *lancha* 'thin, slender'² undoubtedly also belong to this group. If direct connection with *slank* be preferred, the development *s-hl-* > *sl-* follows naturally.

VIII. Ags. *slingan* 'to wind, twist; move as a serpent' (? Ags. *slincan* 'to crawl, slink away'), ON. *slyngva* 'to wind', OHG. *slingan* 'to wind, braid; creep as a serpent;' OHG. *slango* 'snake.' KLUGE³ is wrong in asserting "Die germ. Wz. *slēngw* (**slēnhw*) entsprang aus vorgerm. *slenk*, wie lit. *slīnkti* 'schleichen' (aslov. *slakū* 'krumm'?) zeigt;" for the fixed primary meaning is 'to wind, twist.' ON. *slyngva*, OHG. Ags. *slingan* had also the meaning 'to sling, hurl, move to and fro, schlenkern;' but, very probably, this value is secondary, whether now derived from moving to and fro in a circle, in a *sling*, or from the rotating movement in hurling.

Ags. *hring* 'ring; circle, cycle, orb, etc.,' OHG. OS. (*h*)*ring(e)*, ON: *hringr*.—Ags. *hringian* 'to surround, encircle,' OHG. *ga-hringjan* 'congyrare.'—Germ. *hringa-*, pre-Germ. *krengho-*, related to Oldchsl. *kragŭ* 'circle'; or to Gr. *κρίκος* 'ring.'

MHG. *krinc* 'circle, ring; district,' *kringel* 'bretzel,' ON. *kringla* 'circle'; *kring*, *kringum* 'ringsherum,' *kringja* 'to surround'; ME. *cranke* 'a bend,' *crinkle* 'to twist,' Du. *kronkel* 'a little bend.'

Ags. *wringan* 'to wring, twist; to squeeze out moisture from something (by *wringing*),' OHG. (*w*)*ringan*⁴ 'to wind, twist (refl.); ringen, to wrestle,' Du. *wringen* 'twist, squeeze.'—Ags. *wrang* 'a wrong,' ON. *rangr* 'awry, wrong,' MHG. *ranc* 1) 'quick turning movement, 2) border (e. g. of shield); breadcrust, etc.'—Without the nasal: ME. *wrikken* 'to wriggle,' Norw. *rigga*, *rigla* 'to move about, rock,' etc., etc.

¹ *Ibid.*

³ *Etym. Wb.*, p. 343.

² Cf. p. 12, note 4.

⁴ Cf. SCHROEDER, *l. c.*, p. 499, note 1.

There is a curious, but significant agreement between Mod. German *schlingel* and *range* (also MHG.) 'bad boy, scamp.' KLUGE¹ explains *schlingel* as 'eigtl. wohl Schleicher'; but most likely it is 'wiggler, one who squirms about'; just as *range* is 'one who wrangles about.'²

IX. Goth. *sliupan* 'to creep,' OHG. *sliofan* 'schliefen, schlüpfen,' Ags. *slūpan* (**slēopan*) 'to slip, glide.'

Ags. *crēopan* 'to creep, crawl,' OS. *criepan*, Du. *kruipen*, ON. *krjúpa*, Dan. *krybe*, MHG. *krúfen*.

X. OHG. *slihhan*, ME., Low Germ. *sliken* 'to slink, crawl, schleichen.'—ON. *slíkr*, ME. *slíke* 'sleek, slick;' Ags. *stician* 'to make smooth.'—Du. *slíjk*, Germ. *schlick* 'grease, soft mud, ooze.'

OHG. *kriohhan*, *chriuchan*, *kriecken* 'creep.'—In view of above cognates, it is not necessary to claim, with KLUGE, immediate relationship of *kriohhan* with the *p*-forms of the remaining dialects ("Das Verhältniss der hd. Form mit *ch* aus *k* zu der der übrigen Dialekte mit *p* hat sichere Analogia; s. *Kufe*³, *werfen*, *Strunk*. . . . Den Guttural zeigt noch mittlengl. *crouchen* engl. 'to crouch' sich ducken, kriechen"³). ME. *crouchen* is derived, with more likelihood, from ME. *croken* 'to bend.' Cf. ME. *crucche* with Ags. *crycc* 'crutch'; Engl. *to slouch* 'have a clownish look or gait,' with Icel. *slókr* 'a slouching fellow,' Swed. *sloka* 'to droop.'⁴

¹ KLUGE, *l. c.*, *ibid.*

² *Id.*, *l. c.*, p. 308.

³ *Id.*, *l. c.*, p. 227. The analoga are not compelling. Cf. on this question also ZUPITZA, *Die Germanischen Gutturale*, p. 23, etc.

⁴ See KALUZA, *Historische Grammatik der Englischen Sprache*, § 263 a.

SUPPLEMENT: DETACHED ETYMOLOGIES DEPENDING ON
PREFIXAL *S*.

I. OHG. *leid*—Goth. *slēips*.

There is, undoubtedly, universal assent to the proposition of FRANCK¹ that German *leid* is entirely to be separated from *leiden* with which it shares only an accidental similarity.

OHG. *leid* corresponds to Ags. *lāþ*, ON. *leiþr*, OS. *lēð*.—OHG. *līdan* corresponds to Ags. *līþan*, ON. *līða*, OS. *līðan*, Goth. *galeiþan*.

It will be observed that both are exceedingly common words: Germ. **liðan* is represented abundantly in every Germanic tongue; Germ. **laid-* occurs frequently in all Germanic, except in Gothic. This lack is obviated, however, by the corresponding adj. Goth. *slēips* 'noxious, evil,' parallel to Ags. *slīpe*, OS. *slīði*, OHG. *slīdic*, ON. *slīþr*, all meaning likewise 'bad, cruel, unjust.' We have here Germanic stems, with and without prefixal *s-*, standing in ablaut relation.

II. Goth. *maipms*—*gasmipón*.

Goth. *maipms*² m. 'a present,' Ags. *māpum* m. 'a precious thing, a treasure, jewel, ornament (often refers to gifts)'³ OS. *mēðmós* f. plur. 'monilia,' ON. *meiþmar* f. plur. 'gifts, presents'—is to be connected with Goth. *gasmipón* 'schmieden,' and its cognates. Cf. especially OHG. (*ga*)*smīda* 'Geschmeide,' *smeidar* 'artifex.'

This etymology is in opposition to the one advanced by UHLEN-

¹ *Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum*, XXI, p. 305.

² MARK 7, 11: Κορβάν, ὃ ἐστὶν δῶρον: *kairban*, *þatei ist maipms*. It is to be noted, however, that in another passage (MATTH. 27/6), treating of the disposal of Judas' silverlings, *εἰς τὸν κορβανᾶν* is translated in the Ags. version by *on māþmciste* 'into the treasure-chest,' implying directly that *māpum* is to be thought of as a piece of precious metal, perhaps in the shape of the rings so frequently given as presents, cf. Ags. *bēahgifa*, *hringgifa*, *māþumgifa* 'giver of bracelet-money, liberal prince.'

³ BOSWORTH-TOLLER, *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 671.

BECK¹ who assumes Goth. *maipms* to have the original meaning 'gift,' and assigns it to Goth. *maidjan* 'mutare, falsify, corrupt,' ON. *meida* 'to maim, hurt'²; and proposes to derive thence the varied and specialized meanings of the remaining Germ. cognates. The solitary MHG. *meidem* 'stallion' is explained, on this basis, as a specialization of the meaning 'exchange, gift'—a horse, as the typical Germanic present.³

Very possibly, however, and notwithstanding their formal agreement, Goth. *maidjan*, MHG. *meidem*, Goth. *maipms* belong to entirely different roots: it is much more plausible that the meaning 'gift' in Goth. *maipms* follow the adaptability of jewelry or goldsmith's work to that use, rather than vice versa. The development of the abstract from the concrete is the rule in the history of words, and any infraction of it, as in this case, demands scrutiny.—Moreover, the derivation of Goth. *maipms* from 'gift, exchange' will not account for the decided emphasis laid in original Germanic works on the metallic nature of the objects implied.

III. Germ. *Pfuhl*—*Spülen*.

The etymology of *Pfuhl*, Engl. *pool*, Du. *poel* is not certain. "Unmittelbare Entlehnung aus lat. *pālus* (Obliquus *pālūd-em*) ist aus lautlichen und formellen Gründen unmöglich; doch mag mittelbare Beziehung zwischen dem lat. Wort und der German. Sippe bestehen. Doch ist die Vorgeschichte des westgerm. *pōlu-* dunkel."⁴ Differently FRANCK⁵: ". . . Wellicht is het woord, dat de basis van dit **spōljan* is, eene *l-* afl. van een wt. *spó* 'sproeien, sprengen,' waarvan mnl. *spoeien* 'sprengen,' mnl. *spoeie* und *spóie* 'sluis'; vgl. mnd. *spólte* 'water spuit.'"

It would hardly do to deny the consanguinity of Ags. *pull*, *pyll* 'a pool, creek', Icel. *pollr*; and again of the Celtic words Welsh

¹ *Etym. Wb. der Gotischen Sprache*², p. 105.

² ZUPITZA, *Bezz. Beitr.* xxv., p. 98, does not agree to the identification of ON. *meida* with Goth. *maidjan*, but assigns them to isomorphic roots.

³ Cf. TACITUS, *Germania*, cap. 15.

⁴ KLUGE, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 298.

⁵ *Etymologisch Woordenboek*, p. 942.

poll, Irish *poll*, *pull*. An independent origin is argued also by Germ. *spülen* 'to cleanse, wash out, rinse', OHG. *spuolen*, Ags. *spēlan*, Du. *spoelen*—*-jan* causative of an *s*-form of Germ. **pōlu-*, arising in early Germanic times.

The original meaning of Germanic **pōlu-* was, probably, that of Ags. *pōl* 'a pool, body of deep standing, but fresh water.'¹ Germanic **pōljan*, **spōljan* would, therefore, mean 'to water, cleanse.' Analogously we have OHG. *flēwan* 'spülen,' from **fldwa* 'a flood'; MHG. *vlæjen*, *vlōwwen* 'spülen, waschen, säubern,' and *vlāt* 'tidiness,' *vlut* 'flood'; Lith. *pláuti* 'spülen,' and Ochslov. *pluti* 'swim, float'; Gr. *κλύζω* 'spüle', and *κλύδωρ* 'a wave', etc., etc.

Further evidence of the notion of 'spülen' being connected with the notion of 'standing water' may be found in Bavar. *Die Radspüel* 'Zustand des Fahrweges, da die Geleise voll Wasser sind.'²—"Im hallischen Salzwerk sind *spulen* Sammelgräben unter der Erde zum Auffangen von Kehrlicht und Wasser."³

IV. German *Spule*.

In KLUGE'S article on *spülen*⁴ we find the remark "Zusammenhang mit dem vorigen Wort (*Spule*) ist unklar." For *Spule* he tentatively suggests connection with *spinnen*, *spannen*, belonging to the root *spa* 'to draw'. FRANCK:⁵ "Het is onbekend, of 'garen, weverspoel', of 'penneschacht' de ondere bet. van germ. **spōlon-* is, en of het met gr. *σπήλαιον*, lat. *spēlunca* 'hol' verwant kan zijn."

OHG. *spuola* fem., *spuolo* masc. seems to be an *s*-form of the root **bheu-* 'to grow', as seen in Goth. *ufbauljan* 'to cause to swell', OHG. *pūlla* 'a swelling, boil', etc. This would give to Germanic *spōla-* the meaning 'a swelling, thickening'; and this well agrees with the primary meaning, of OHG. *spuola*⁶

¹ Cf. BOSWORTH-TOLLER, *l. c.*, p. 776. Lat. *palus* had also the sense 'pond, standing water, lake.' cf. sterilise diu palus aptaque remis, HOR. A. P. 65. *Palus Maeotis* = *Lacus Maeotis* (now Sea of Azof).

² SCHMELLER, *Bayr. Wb.*² II, p. 666.

³ HEYNE, *D. Wb.*, III, p. 726.

⁴ *L. c.*, p. 374.

⁵ *L. c.*, p. 941.

⁶ GRAFF, *Althochdeutscher Sprachschatz*, IV, p. 334.

‘quill (swelling at the root of the feather), tube’, thence ‘weaver’s spool, bobbin’. With the yarn spun around the spool the notion of ‘a swelling’ is yet more apparent. And that bird’s quills were the favorite material for weavers’ bobbins is plain from the OHG. meaning of the word *spuola*.¹ On the other hand it is manifest that the original meaning was ‘tube, Röhre, quill’.

V. MHG. *dringen* ‘to weave’—*strang* ‘cord.’

We find MHG. *dringen* to possess the meaning ‘flechten, weben,’ besides its usual value ‘to press, throng.’ KLUGE² intimates that the notion of ‘to weave’ derives from the usual meaning: “Zusammendrücken, drängen, andringen, dann auch flechten, weben.”—The existence of MHG. *drīhe* ‘embroidery needle’ with long *i*, undoubtedly a de-nasalized *ĩ*, from *-inh*, shows, however, that the meaning of *dringen* ‘to weave’ must be of considerable antiquity. It is not clear how *drīhe* can mean an instrument wherewith to ‘compress’ the threads of a woof. Much rather, it implies a contrivance for passing the thread, or fibre through cloth, or the meshes of matwork. It is to be remembered that by ‘weaving’ we understand the uniting, by interlacing, of threads, so as to form a texture.

This suggests connection of MHG. *dringen* with OHG. *strang* ‘string, cord’, and its allies; and that it has nothing to do with the homonymous Ags. *þringan*, OHG. *dringen*, Goth. *þreihan* ‘to press, throng’. *Strang* and *dringen* (Germanic **þringan*) represent pre-Germanic forms in *t-*, with and without initial *s-*.

As a corollary, *durchdrīngen* ‘to pierce’ is to be regarded as a popular ‘Verdeutlichung’ of MHG. *dringen* in the sense ‘interpenetrate’; cf. *durchdrungen* ‘permeated’. *Eīndringen*, however, may literally mean ‘to press in’, said *e. g.* of an invading host.

¹The English substitutes the equivalent *quill*. Cf. WRIGHT, *English Dialect Dictionary*, IV, p. 682, *quill* 1sb ‘a spool on which weft is wound for placing in the shuttle’.—Cf. also “Diu weberin *spuolt* über den *kil*,” quoted by HILDEBRAND, *D. Wb.*, v, p. 674.

²*Etym. Wb.*, p. 83.

FRATZE.

The etymology of this word is given by KLUGE¹ as follows: "FRATZE F. erst. nhd. (schon bei Luther belegt, und seit Henisch 1616 gebucht), woraus ndl. *fratsen* F. Plur. 'Fratzen, Verzerungen' entlehnt. Spricht schon das Fehlen des Wortes im Ahd. Mhd. für Entlehnung, so zwingt dazu die Unmöglichkeit einer guten Ableitung aus germ. Mitteln². Letzte Quelle von *Fratze* könnte in ital. Plur. *frasche*, frz. *frasques* 'Possen, Schabernack vorliegen'".

GRIMM³ offers the following: "FRATZ, wohl kaum aus dem alten *frast* kind, oder der bedeutung keck und mutig abzuleiten . . . man könnte an *fatzen*, *fatzbube*, *fatzmann* mit eingeschobnem *r* denken, doch läge it. *frasca* näher, das eigentlich einen laubast, dann aber einen laffen . . . bezeichnet . . . scharfsinnig ist aber von DIETRICH bei HAUPT 10/219 *fratz* als schnitzwerk aufgefasst, zum alts. *fratah*, angels. *fratu* gestellt, und samt diesen aus *fretan*, fressen = beissen, hauen hergeleitet worden. *Fratz* und *fressen* wären gut zu einigen, wie *fatzen* und *fassen*, selbst *frasca* könnte aus dem deutschen wort stammen, da die vorstellung des schnitzwerks leicht in die von ast und holz übergeht, auch die zieraten in laub, fratzengesichter in holz ausgeschnitten werden. diesem allen müssten ahd. und mhd. ausdrücke ein siegel aufdrücken."

And under FRATZIG⁴: ". . . 'machen sich fratzig genug, treten fein hochtrabig herein' (Wegkürzer 85). heisst das soviel als batzig, patzig oder darf das ahd. *frazar*, *frazar* temerarius, protervus in betracht genommen werden. das würde zugleich die vorhin erwogene deutung von *fratz* berühren."

¹ *Etym. Wb.*⁶, p. 122.

² *Id.*, *Etym. Wb.*⁵ (1894), p. 117: "denn die vorgeschlagene Deutung aus angels. *fraetve* F. Plur.: 'Kunstarbeit, Schmuck (? Schnitzwerk)' ist lautlich unmöglich."

³ *D. Wb.*, IV, p. 68.

⁴ *D. Wb.*, IV, p. 71.

FRANCK,¹ likewise, connects Du. *fratsen* with the German word, that with Ags. *fraet* 'trotzig'.

The *New English Dictionary*² expresses the following opinions :

"FRET (sb. 1), from OFr. *frete* 'trellis-work' . . . commonly believed to represent the OE. *fraetwe* pl., 'ornaments', *fractwan* 'to adorn', but this appears to be phonologically inadmissible, and many of the usual phraseological combinations of the words in ME. are paralleled by similar uses in OFr."

"FRET (vb. 2) . . . do.; but it is possible that the OE. verb, though not recorded after the 12th century, may have survived in speech, and have been confused with the Romanic verb **fraitir*, OFr. *freter*, from **frectatus*."

Compare the N. E. D. further under the heads *fritter* (vb. 2), and *fitter*.³

The article of DIETRICH⁴ (referred to by GRIMM), entitled *Schnitzwerk*, emphasizes that wood-carving was the most favorite kind of art and adornment in Germanic times. We need but call to mind the ornaments on ships and houses, and the extensive practice of the art as still seen in rural Suabia and the Tyrol. The adornments of wood, as a type, were then transferred to embroidered cloths, thence to metal wares, and so forth. These ornaments soon tend to assume the features of man or beast, and lend themselves easily to comical and phantastical representations; whence any term denoting such ornaments would also readily acquire an evil connotation.

The Ags. word for these ornaments was *fraetwe*, fem. plur., OS. *fratuh*. It is true that this term does not, in most instances, specify woodwork, but rather ornaments in general, wrought jewels, embroidered garments, and the like; but once we do find distinct reference to wood-carving or stone-cutting. In the AN-

¹ *Etymologisch Woordenboek*, p. 256.

² Vol. iv, p. 539.

³ Engl. *fret* 'to devour' (Ags. *fretan*); *fret* 'to chafe' (from OFr. **freiter*, from Lat. *frictāre*); as well as German *fretten*, *fratt*; Swiss *fretze* 'weiden, ätzen,' etc. etc., have, of course, to be kept apart.

⁴ *Z. f. d. A.*, x, 219: In the following I summarize briefly the points pertinent to the discussion.

DREAS¹ we read of wonderfully graven (*wundorgræfene*) images of angels on the walls of the the temple, beautifully executed (*gefrætweð*) on both sides, neatly wrought. And Hroðgar's hall Heorot is spoken of as *innenweard folmum gefrætweð*.²

It is then endeavored to prove, by citing the analogical cases of Germ. *schroten*, ON. *skera* 'to cut in wood', etc., that Ags. *frætwe* is to be derived from *fritan* 'fressen'—in which instance it is called to mind, doubtlessly with some justice, that in olden times cutting and graving tools were regarded as 'biting' or 'gnawing' instruments.

It is difficult to demonstrate that, in our language, the original ornament has become a grimace ("Verzerrung"), thus that Mod. Germ. *Fratzen* were originally ornaments in wood, or on garments; for we lack the middle links to follow up this change. Important evidence of the earlier meaning is found, however, in the phrase *Fratzen schneiden*, as compared with *Possen reißen*—which both have preserved their mode of origin: the cutting of wooden images, and the pulling of marionettes; furthermore, in the architectural term *Fratzköpfe*, as the gaping heads of men and beasts (gargoyles) with which were adorned gables, doors, joists, and especially the figure-heads on ship-prows, are still called. It is very probable that our 'Sprachgefühl' misleads us in making us feel that this term *Fratzköpfe* meant 'distorted faces', not simply 'carved images'; although it was undoubtedly this very use which deteriorated the word.—

In Ags. *frætwe* fem. plur., OS. *fratuh*³ fem. we have undoubtedly a *-wa* stem,⁴ so that on the basis of Ags. **fratu* nom. sg. fem., and OS. *fratuh*, the pre-Old High German form would also have been nom. sg. **fratu* (*frato*, *frata*), gen. **fratwa*. Is it

¹ L. 1520.

² BEOWULF, l. 993; cf. also *folestede frætwan*, *ibid.* l. 76; and PHOENIX, l. 73: *holtes frætwe*.

³ For OS. *h* intervocalic = *w*, cf. SCHLÜTER (in DIETER, *Laut- und Formenlehre der altgerm. Dial.*, 1900), § 160, 4.

⁴ Cf. SIEVERS, *Angelsächsische Grammatik*³, § 260.

impossible that this hypothetical form—granting once its pre-Old High German existence¹—gave rise to OHG. **fratza*?

The second, High German, mutation of consonants changes medial and final *t*, after vowels, to the surd double spirant *ʒ*. However, we may not at all consider **fratu* (where *t* stands medial after vowel) as our starting form; but, rather, the average oblique case-form **fratwa*. This is rendered beyond doubt by the Ags. equivalent appearing as *pluraletantum* (*frætwē* fem. plur.), and by Goth. *-fratwjan*,² Ags. *frælewian*. Notice also the Ags. derivative *frætwung*.

Our hypothetical pre-OHG. form is therefore to be placed under the alternate category of Grimm's law: Germ. *t* initial, medial after consonant, or in gemination—which in OHG. shifted to the affricative represented by *tz*.

The question now remains, whether we are justified in assuming a geminated form, in the present case.—Sporadic gemination undoubtedly occurs in West Germanic before *l*, *r*; ³ and in OHG. also before *n*,⁴ and *w*: KÖGEL⁵ first pointed out several cases of *w* causing gemination; still others were added by BRAUNE,⁶ and by KLUGE.⁷

So we have, e. g.:

OBav. *ahha*, from **ahka*; besides the more common ungeminated OHG. *aha*.

OHG. *sehhan*, from **selvan*.

OHG. *nahhitun*, corresponding to Goth. *nēlvidēdun*.

OHG. *firlīche*, corresponding to Goth. *-leihvai*; besides OHG. *līhan*.

OHG. *ackus*, corresponding to Goth. *aqizi*.

OHG. *nackot*, corresponding to Goth. *naqaps*; besides OHG. *nahhut*, from simple *k*?

¹ Cf. p. 26 f.

² Cf. p. 26 f.

³ Cf. KLUGE, *Grundriss*², *Vorgeschichte der altgermanischen Dialekte*, § 158.

⁴ Cf. KAUFFMANN, *PBb.*, XII, 520.

⁵ Review of BRAUNE'S *Ahd. Grammatik*¹, *Ltbl. f. germ. und rom. Phil.*, 1887, col. 109.

⁶ *Ahd. Grammatik*², §§ 96 A5; 109 A2; 154 A6.

⁷ *L. e.*, § 159.

We may perhaps also cite the Ags. forms *teohhian* 'to draw', from **telvōn*; and *seohhe* 'sieve', from **sihvōn* 'seihen.'

But in most OHG. words, it is true, Germanic-Gothic *w* after consonant disappeared, without having caused gemination¹; by the side of the cases above cited (all gutturals + *w*), we may adduce the following *t* + *w* forms which, if geminated, would have resulted in OHG. *z* (*tz*):

Goth. *wahtwō* corresponding to OHG. *wahtā*.

Goth. *uhtwō* corresponding to OHG. *ūhtā*.

Goth. *gatwō* corresponding to OHG. *gazzā* 'gasse.'

Very probably, this loss of *w* is the result of levelling, inasmuch as it was dropped only before dark vowels.²

As will be observed, the only word that bears complete analogy to **fratwa* is **gatwa* (Goth. *gatwō*): so that the finding of a form OHG. **gatza* would render our contention as to the geminating influence of *w* on preceding *t* absolutely certain. However, we do not find a form **gatza*,³ but only *gazzā*—corresponding to Germanic **gata* (without *w*).

Here we may ask: is it not possible that the absence of a form **gatza* is due to analogical influence from OHG. *strāzzā*, *strāza*? A current collocation "*gazzē und strāzzē*" was available from the earliest times, and considering the very close resemblance of both word and thing, such an analogical influence is highly probable: as late as MHG., the term *gazzē* by no means signifies a narrow lane—whatever it may have since come to mean—but exactly the same as *strāzzē*, namely, a 'broad street, or a village (vicus, platea).'

⁴ As to the frequency of the collocation, *gazzē und strāzzē*, we may note that among four instances furnished in the *Mhd. Wb.*, two show it. Furthermore, *strāzzē* soon after its introduction seems to have become the more popular of the two, thus tending to create an analogy favorable to its consonantism.

¹ BRAUNE, *l. c.*, § 109 A2; KLUGE, *l. c.*, § 159.

² BRAUNE, *ibid.*

³ Curiously enough we find a form *gatze* in Low German territory; cf. the *D. Wb.*, IV, p. 1436 c, "ebenso tritt hd. -s gleich mhd. -z entlehnt in nd. nrh. als -z auf in *kreiz*, nl. *kreits*."

⁴ Cf. the *Mhd. Wb.* (BENECKE-MÜLLER-ZARNCKE) I, p. 489; also the *D. Wb.*, IV, p. 1439 2)a.

But, even supposing the above contention to be false, there is no reason for declaring OHG. **fratza*, should that form occur, to be anything but the lawful descendant from pre-Old High German **fratwa*. At any rate we must reject KLUGE's opinion that it is impossible to find a good derivation from Germanic material.

While thus the positive side of our inquiry yields but the probability of a possibility, I am at a loss to know, by what manner of means Ital. plur. *frasche*, Fr. *frasques* plur. 'Possen, Schabernack' could yield our form *Fratze*.

The first point suggesting itself for inquiry is what Romanic *sk* becomes in German.—The cases of borrowing are few. *Damasquiner* (-*einer*) 'damaszieren'; *amascino* 'Zwetsche', do not come in for consideration, inasmuch as in both of these words the *c* had already dental value; so most probably also in *uscino* (late Lat. *coxinus*) 'Kissen'; nor are we concerned with the frequent initial *se* in Italian—which is either borrowed from Germanic sources, or retains its sound in German, when of Romanic origin.

There remain¹:

Ital. *biscotto* yielding *Biscotten* (sixteenth century).

Ital. *bosco* yielding ? '*Busch*.'

Low Lat. *flasco* yielding OHG. *flasca* 'Flasche.'

Lat. *miscere* yielding OHG. *miscan*.

Low Lat. **tasca* yielding ? OHG. *tasca* 'Tasche.'

Ital. *maschera* yielding *Maskere* (Suabian-Bavarian).

Fr. *masque* yielding *Maske* (seventeenth century).

Of this group, the most interesting in this connection is *Maske*, both for the close, almost absolute, similarity with Fr. *frasque* of both meaning² and consonantism—which in case of borrowing from the same source, at not very distant periods, might even have been expected to bring about some analogical interaction.

As seen above, Romanic *sk* does not, under any condition what-

¹ From KLUGE, *Etym. Wb.* indices.

² MEYER'S *Conversations Lexicon*, MASKE: In der Baukunst nennt man Masken Menschenköpfe ohne Hinterhaupt, welche, gewöhnlich aus Stein gehauen, zur Verzierung des Schlusssteins von Fenster- und Thürbogen angewandt werden.—There is, besides, the usual meaning of 'Larve, Fratze.'

soever, become *tz* in German—a phonetic change that is, in fact, extremely unlikely in itself. Nor can the affricative be explained by the possibility of transmission through other sources. Moreover, there is the intrinsic difficulty with this derivation, that the meaning of Ital. *frasca*¹ ‘Posse, Larve’, is entirely secondary; so that any strong influence of this meaning on other languages seems precluded.

As GRIMM observes, the final seal of genuineness would have to be impressed on the conjectures respecting the Germanic origin of *Fratze* by the actual occurrence of the word in OHG. and MHG. However, this would not be the first instance of a word leading a cryptic life for centuries, in the low vernacular, and suddenly re-emerging, to be definitively added to the thesaurus of literary speech.

Some trace of this life in dialect may be found in Swiss *Hasenfratz*² ‘Hasenscharte, harelip’ (meaning, not a ‘hareface’, but a lip cloven like a hare’s), showing the existence, it would seem, of a verb ‘to cut’.

Also, we must take into account the significant survival of *Fratze* in *Fratzen schneiden*.³ No importance, however, is to be attached to the early use of *Fratzen* as ‘albernes Gerede’⁴ which—whatever its etymology—can only be derived from a more concrete significance.

¹ KÖRTING, *Lateinisch-Romanisches Wb.*² 10206, *Lat. *virāscā* (from *virēre*) ‘green twig’; gives Ital. Span. *frasca* ‘grüner Zweig, belaubter Ast.’

² *Schweizer Idiotikon*, I, p. 1343.

³ See above, p. 21.

⁴ Cf. PAUL, *D. Wb.*, p. 147. The expression *Fratzen schneiden* is not allied with *aufschnneiden* (the primary meaning of which is ‘vorschneiden, bei Tische aufschnneiden, auftischen’ (cf. GRIMM, *D. Wb.*, I, p. 728), with which compare also the 17th century expression *mit dem grossen Messer aufschnneiden* (PAUL, *ibid.*)—whence the idea of ‘boasting, spinning a yarn’; nor is it connected with Engl. *to cut up* (developed through ‘to slash, wound, cut up by criticism, misbehave’). This use of *to cut* was mixed with *to dance capers*, so as to form the expression *to cut capers* ‘to dance boisterously, play pranks’; cf. *N. E. D.*, IV, p. 1291 (59 m). Very likely, *to cut faces, a figure*, etc. (first occurrence A. D. 1664), derives from the above use.

ULTIMATE ETYMOLOGY.

The ultimate etymology of Ags. *frætwē* is discussed by KLUGE¹ in connection with Ags. *geatwe*, *getāwe* 'armor, trappings, garments, ornaments.' He reduces both to Goth. **gá-tāwos*, and **frá-tēwós*. UHLENBECK² (s. v. *usfratwjan*) is unaware of this article.

KLUGE'S explanation suggests that it seems but reasonable to expect a pre-Old High German **gátwa*, beside the attested form OHG. *gezouwe*, *gezāwe* (yielding *Gezähe*), parallel to Ags. *geatwe*, beside *getāwe*. Nor is there anything to disprove the possibility of pre-Old High German **fratwa* per se. The comparison with the various meanings of Ags. *geatwe*, *frætwē* leads one to think, moreover, that the object prepared, as implied by pre-Old High German **fratwa*, may be as diverse as those implied by the Ags. words, namely, 'armor, trappings, garments, and ornaments'³; for it is easy to see how a specialization might occur, here toward the preparation of metal (armor, brass, and gold ornaments); there toward the preparation of leather or, cloth (armor and trappings; cf. OHG. *zouwen* 'to tan, dress hides'); or again toward the preparation of stone or wood—a cutting process. It is not improbable that this last specialization furnished the fixed meaning 'to carve, sculpture' for OHG. **fretzen*, just as OHG. *zouwen* was confined prevailingly to the meaning 'to tan.'

KLUGE⁴ rejects connection with Goth. *usfratwjan*, ἀπαξ λεγόμενον. "Das ist der Bedeutung (klug machen, σωφίζειν) wegen unmöglich, und weil das dem A. S. und Ags. zu Grunde liegende Wort von Haus aus Mittelvokal gehabt haben muss; zudem ist *usfratwjan* wohl verschrieben für *usfrastwjan*, da las Wort unzweifelhaft zu *frapjan*, *fróþs* gehört."⁵

¹ KUHN'S *Zeitschrift*, xxvi, p. 75 f.

² *Etym. Wb. der got. Sprache*².

³ BOSWORTH-TOLLER, *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 330, 369.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ For a still different etymology see NOREEN, *Abriss der Urgermanischen Lautlehre*, p. 182, who refers the consonantism of Goth. *fróþs*, over against *us-fratwjan*, to Ide. variation of tenuis and media; cf. Lith. *prantù* 'I learn', and Gr. φράζω (< **phradjō*) 'I bring tidings.'

It is well possible, however, that in the passage in question ¹ *usfratwjan* may exactly express *σωφλιζειν* by 'to prepare the spirit, make wise'.² Besides, KLUGE's emendation ³ leaves entirely out of account the presence of the *s* and *w* elements. (His laconic expression makes it doubtful whether he holds *fraþjan* and **frastwjan* to be Ide. congeners, or merely Germanic close allies.) As concerns the lack of middle-vowel, the presence of ON. *gotvar* certainly proves early Germanic existence of syncope also in the parallel word. It is not clear why there should not have been ⁴ a form Goth. **frátawjan* (from **fra-tawjan*), giving Goth. *-fratwjan*.⁵

It is true that *-fratwjan* cannot be the starting point for Ags. *frætwan*, since Germ. *tw* cannot remain in West-Germ.; but it is illogical to deny the existence of a form, merely because another one cannot be derived from it.

¹ II Tim. 3/15. As there are two MSS. for our passage, it is hardly probable that *usfratwjan* is simply "verschrieben."

² Cf. GÜDLÄC, l. 778: *Sāwle frætwaþ hālgum gehygdum*, 'they prepare, adorn their souls with holy meditations'.

³ Not accepted by any editor.

⁴ According to the very principle elaborated in KLUGE's article, *ibid.*

⁵ It is quite unnecessary to assume a causative formation from Goth. *tēwa*. The true causative exists in *gatēwan*.

SCHRAUBE.

KLUGE gives the following etymology for *Schraube*:¹ "Spätmhd. *schrûbe*; dazu ndl. *schroef* (engl. *screw*), isl. *skrúfa*: die Sippe, innerhalb welcher Entlehnungen stattgefunden haben, weshalb die Lautverhältnisse sich nicht genau entsprechen, ist wesentlich erst neugermanisch. Man beachte schwäb. *schrauf*, bair. *schraufen* und schweiz. *štrube* sowie aus dem Roman. afrz. *escroue*—frz. *écrou* 'Schraube',² rätorom. *scrov*. Im Hinblick auf Bedeutungsübertragungen wie bei *Bock*, *Krahn* und *Ramme* denkt G. BAIST an Ursprung der ganzen Sippe aus lat. *scrophā* 'Sau' und vergleicht besonders span. *puerca* 'Schraubenmutter' aus lat. *porca* 'Sau.'"

HEYNE, on the contrary, expresses a belief in the Germanic origin of the word:³ "Ein zufrühest in den nördlichen germanischen sprachen erscheinendes wort, altnord. *skrúfa*, schwed. *skruf*, dän. *skrue*, in's engl. als *screw*, in's niederl. als *schroef* gedrun-gen . . . , ebenso in's niederdeutsche: mittelniederd. *schrûve*, am spätesten in's hochdeutsche als *Schraufe* und *Schraube*."

It was DIEZ's⁴ opinion that Fr. *écroue* was derived "von lat. *scrobis* m. f. 'Grube', vgl. ital. *cavo* mit beiden Bedeutungen. Unser *Schraube* hätte franz. kaum anders als *écrué* oder *écru* lauten können."

KÖRTING,⁵ again, objects: "Indessen, *scröb-* konnte nur *eseruef*, *escreuf*, *écreuf* ergeben; cf. ital. *pröbo* mit afrz. *pruef*; auch die Bedeutung macht Schwierigkeiten; *écrou* kann nicht von ndl. *schroef*, engl. *screw*, mhd. *schrûbe* getrennt werden."

BAIST's proposed derivation, by transference of meaning, from Lat. *serōfa* (waiving for the moment the lexicological question), meets a serious objection in phonetic conditions. Free Lat. *ō*

¹ *Etym. Wb.*, p. 353.

² More accurately 'screw-nut'.

³ In GRIMM'S *D. Wb.*, IX, p. 1650.

⁴ *Etym. Wb. der Romanischen Sprachen*⁵, II, p. 567.

⁵ *Lateinisch-Romanisches Wb.*², 7308.

(Low Lat. *ō*) resulted in Ofr. *ou* which becomes Fr. *eu*, and that without exception.¹ In many words, it is true, analogy has been at work, especially in the verbs, to substitute Fr. *ou* for lawful *eu*: e. g., *il prouve*, instead of *il preuve*, by analogy of the verbs following the first conjugation (which lawfully have *ou*) e. g., *il pousse*; *nous poussons*. In our case, however, there does not exist a verb (**écrouer* from Low Lat. **scrōfare*); nor do there exist any other derivatives which might have influenced the vocalism of the simplex.² Hence we must declare the derivation of *écroue* from *scrōfa* to be impossible.

BAIST's suggestion is no less satisfactory from the lexicological point of view. One must, after all, recognize a fundamental distinction between such transferences of meaning—some doubtful themselves—as *Bock*, *Ramme* (Lat. *aries*), *Krahn* (Lat. *grus*, Gr. γέπavος) etc., and *écroue* 'Schraube', to correspond to *scrōfa* 'a breeding sow'! Even a "whimsical" imagination will not hit upon the connection of a sow with a screw.³ As concerns the analogy, adduced by BAIST, of Span. *puerca*, portug. *porca* 'screw-nut', we shall have to consider it merely as a curious coincidence of no cogency. We must be on our guard, not to take as evidence the very fact which suggested to BAIST his etymology of *escroue*! KÖRTING⁴ says: "portugies. *porca* hat auch die (obscön) übertragene Bedeutung 'Schraubenmutter', das gleichbedeutende span. *tuerca* soll nach GRÖBER (*A. L. L.* VI, 127 Anm.) eine volksetymologische, an *torcer* sich anlehnende Umbildung von *puerca* sein; ein unmittelbarer Zusammenhang mit *torquere* ist aber doch weit wahrscheinlicher."—In fact, it would seem that *puerca* is the folketymological form; cf. the consanguinity of initial *tue-* and *pue-*.

Finally, why should this transference of meaning *scrōfa*—*écroue*

¹Cf. NYROP, *Grammaire Historique de la Langue Française*, I. § 182.

²*Écrouer* vb. 'to mark into a list of prisoners', is from a different source; *écrouelles* p. pl. 'scrofula' is lawfully derived from *scrōfella*.

³The use in Carinthian of *schraufen* *stuprare* *feminam* is most likely derived from the sense 'to vex, oppress', as yet seen in *jmdn. schrauben* 'to put the screws on one, to tease, torment.' (The primary use of the screw was in the vice. Cf. however, Engl. *male* and *female* screw; still, why should a particular animal be selected?)

⁴*L. c.*, 7315.

be confined only to French? If really based on a Low Lat. semantic by-value of *scrōfa*, we should expect to find some kindred forms in other Romanic languages; but these are signally lacking.¹

On the other hand, the representation in Germanic is too complete and uniform to be accounted for by a word which had not even the meaning 'screw' in Low Lat., and which, moreover, was by no means common in its proper sense. Furthermore, the fact that MHG. *schrûbe* makes its appearance only in the late Middle Ages² agrees but ill with that assumption. A borrowing from more Northern forms (*skrúfa*, *schrûve*) is perfectly sufficient to account for divergences on German territory.³

As has been variously suggested, *skrúfa* is not to be separated from the root Ide. **skerp* 'to cut, carve, scratch', seen in OHG. *screvōn* 'to split, cut', MHG. *schruffen* 'to split', Mod. Bavr. *schreffeln* 'kerben, make incisions', Ags. *scraef* 'cave', etc., etc.⁴ The same root occurs again in Lat. *scribere*, and, curiously enough, in *scrōbis* 'ditch, trench'.

Skrúfa would, then, signify a piece of metal or wood cut in grooves, as a screw. The use of the screw is, it is true, nowhere attested in early documents, or in finds; but it appears not improbable that the goldsmiths of old, capable of fashioning such exquisitely artistic ornaments (as seen, *e. g.*, *passim* in the illustrations of SOPHUS MÜLLER'S *Nordische Altertumskunde*, for the very earliest times) should have been able of themselves to evolve the use and name of this simple mechanical device so essential in their art.

However, Fr. *écroue* must be accounted for; but, while *skrúfa* thus, as far as we can see, claims Germanic origin, it is quite impossible that the word in this form could have given rise to the French form in one; for Old Germanic free *ū* invariably yields

¹ The Raetoromantic form *scrof* is of no cogency no more than Lith. *szriúbs*, *e. g.*—because necessarily late. It seems a borrowing from Bavar. *schraufe*.

² *Mhd. Wb.*, II, p. 221.

³ Swiss *štrube* with High-Allemannic non-diphthongization (see BEHAGHEL, *Grundriss*³, p. 701), and dissimilation.

⁴ For further cognates see SIEBS, *Kuhn's Zeitschr.*, XXXVII, 313.

OFr. *u* which becomes Fr. *u* (*ü*).¹ We must conclude, then, that OFr. *escroe*, if at all borrowed, was borrowed from MHG. *ū* diphthongized to *au*, or preparing to diphthongize.² This sound OFr. *oe*, *ou* (belonging to the second stratum of borrowing) would then have escaped further change. The comparatively late occurrence of the word in French (1392–1400)³ confirms this view in a decided manner.

¹Cf. W. WALTEMATH, *Die fränkischen Elemente in der französischen Sprache* (Strassburg diss. 1885), p. 80; and MACKEL, *Die germanischen Elemente in der französischen und provençalischen Sprache*, *Französische Studien*, vi, fasc. 1, p. 137.

²BEHAGHEL, *l. c.*, p. 701; MACKEL, *l. c.*, p. 119. The examples there given are scanty, because the OFr. period involved is not one fertile in borrowing, and because words of this category are naturally scarce.

³See GODEFROY, *Dictionnaire de l'Ancienne Langue Française*, III, p. 443.

GUTER DINGE SEIN.

The stereotyped Mod. Germ. expression *Guter Dinge sein* 'to be of good cheer', is universally believed to be connected with the noun *Ding* 'thing, object, cause, etc.'

Thus GRIMM¹ classes it with *Ding*, without taking exception to the incongruity of meaning attaching thereto; and PAUL also² mentions it along with *unverrichteter Dinge*, *geschehene Dinge*; as, likewise, with the modern compounds *schlechterdings*, *allerdings*, *neuerdings*, etc.

Neither GRIMM nor PAUL seem to realize that the connection with *Ding* implies *Guter Dinge sein* to mean 'to be of good cheer' on account, and as the result of, favorable circumstances. This is actually held by HEYNE³; but the evidence of the idiom clearly contradicts this opinion—shared by all the lexicographers⁴; for, one may be *guter Dinge*, though badly off in health, wealth, and other good things. The typical, sunny young scamp of the Märchen sets out on life's journey without a penny in his pocket, but with unbounded confidence in himself and his good luck, "*fröhlichen Herzens und guter Dinge*." In this case, as in many others, the Sprachgefühl of the Märchen is unerring, and correctly preserves the value of this expression which, as I believe, is a direct descendant of MHG. *gedinge*.

The meaning of MHG. *gedinge*⁵ is 'feste Hoffnung, favorable

¹ *D. Wb.*, II, p. 1167.

² *D. Wb.*, p. 94.

³ *D. Wb.* I, p. 580: "Wohl zunächst an die rechtliche Bedeutung anknüpfend, Lage, Zustand, ahd. *dinc*, *dinch*, *conditio*, *status*; mhd. *alsô hab ich gelebet her, daz mir mîn dinc noch schöne stât* Minnes. Früh. 192; nhd. in festen Wendungen geblieben: . . . namentlich *guter Dinge sein*: *wenn sie ubel thun, sind sie guter ding darüber*. Jer. 11/15, etc."

⁴ SCHMELLER's position is uncertain. *Bayr. Wb.*² I, p. 520, he gives the collocation *guot gedinge*, under *gedinge*, *dinge*, but furnishes examples only from MHG.—nowhere implying the derivation of the Mod. German expression.

⁵ Not to be confused with the MHG. synonyms from the same root: *gedinge*, 1) 'court of justice'; 2) 'Bedingung'; 3) 'a witness.'

expectation; Zuversicht, the sure hope of something.' The gender of the word is variable; nor do the OHG. forms offer a decisive clue for this variability.

We have OHG.¹:

- 1) *gadingt*, strong fem.
- 2) *gadingi*, strong neut.
- 3) *gadingo*, weak masc.

And, if possible, there is still more variation in MHG.²

A

We have *gedinge*:

- 1) strong masc.: only one case; doubtful.
- 2) weak masc.: about the same number of occurrences as the
- 3) strong neut.: in a number of instances it cannot be determined whether the word is masc. or neut.
- 4) strong fem.: only a few instances.

It is in keeping with the explicit value of MHG. *gedinge* 'sure hope, confident expectation', that it needs no further attribute to render it more definite. The adjectives that are found in connection with *gedinge*, are, accordingly, wholly of corroborative force. Thus, *guot* (which is the favorite though trite attribute of *gedinge*), and *wert*, *wró gedinge*.

The frequent association with *guot* makes it most obvious that from it the expression *guter Dinge sein* takes its origin. Very probably, this collocation held its ground longer than the single word *gedinge*—as is frequently the case, in the history of a language. Now, with the disappearance of the single word, the value of *gedinge* in our collocation, also, became less certainly felt, thus rendering necessary the association with *guot*—formerly slightly tautological.

The nature of the collocation *guot gedinge*³ was no longer

¹ GRAFF, *Ahd. Sprachschatz*, v, p. 192-4.

² *Mhd. Wb.* I, p. 339.

³ The normal form of the collocation, representing the majority of forms: nom. sg. of the masc., fem., neut.; and the acc. sg. of the strong neut. Gen. and dat. of *gedinge* are rarely found, the plur. never. The proportionally greater use of the strong adj. decl. in MHG. is also to be borne in mind. Cf. PAUL, *Mhd. Gram.*⁴, § 226, 227, 3.

understood, and it fell an easy prey to popular etymology which—as lexicographers still do—probably associated *gedinge* with *ding*, interpreting it as the gen. plur. of the latter word, and correcting it to *guter gedinge*. The prefix *ge-*, having become unmeaning, was dropped, aided by the rhythmic principle of the language,¹ and the resulting form *guter dinge* was then readily construed, and understood, as a predicative genitive of condition, quality, with *sein*; which was the easier as MHG. *gedinge* was not fettered to any particular auxiliary.

This supposition is only strengthened by the fact that our expression, in its present shape, occurs in the 15th century,² the very time that *hoffen* and *Hoffnung* had pushed *gedinge* and *gedingen* to the wall, having been introduced from Low Germany, during the 13th century, and rapidly gaining ground thereafter, at the expense of their predecessors.

¹ Cf. BEHAGHEL, *Geschichte d. d. Sprache (Grundriss)*², p. 687 f. Also HILDEBRANDT, *Zeitschr. f. d. Unterr.*, VII, p. 641 f., etc., etc.

² Cf. instances mentioned by GRIMM, *D. Wb.*, II, p. 1167.

LIFE.

The author was born November 8th, 1880, at Baltimore, Md. At the age of six he was taken to Frankfort a/M., Germany, where he received his secondary training at the Realgymnasium Wöhlerschule, till 1897. After reaching Unterprima he left, in order to enter the Johns Hopkins University. He received his bachelor's degree in 1901, and has since—with the exception of two summer semesters, spent at the universities of Munich and Leipsic—pursued graduate studies at that institution, in the departments of German, English, and Sanskrit, under Professors Bloomfield, Bright, Vos, and Wood—to all of whom he is under lasting obligation for the constant inspiration and encouragement they have given him. His thanks are due also to Professors Armstrong and Collitz (Bryn Mawr) for assistance and advice.

Ellor 1903-5

